The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of [redacted]

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Poverty and Riches

Sunday School Lesson for May 5—Article by Rev. Wm. A. Prosser—Luke 6:20-26; 16: 19-31

LESSON FOR MAY 5

Golden Text: A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth.

The subject of Poverty and Riches in one brief lesson! It is too much for us. There is thought enough in the matter for at least four lessons. We shall consider the first phase of the twofold subject and deal largely with the cause of poverty.

The Problem

Before taking up the causes of poverty a few general statements are necessary. The question of the lesson is not a problem in morals but in economics and the results of economic conditions on individual and social life. That economic poverty is extensive among the working people of the world today is as evident as in the days of Moses, Christ, Luther and Wesley, and it is almost universally conceded that an ample and secure economic base is absolutely necessary to a high physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual individual and social life. What is the cause of poverty, can it and should it be abolished [illegible]

Causes of Poverty

At the root of any effort we must find the cause of poverty. Poverty can originate in and continue only by three general causes: Natural, Personal and Social. Is poverty, as we know it, the result of either one or all of these causes? Let us take them up in the order named.

By natural causation we mean God and Nature. Is economic poverty among the masses the result of lack of natural supply, the caprice of Nature or the decree of God? That it is not due to lack of natural supply will be readily conceded by all. Nature's natural resources are sufficient for all. Her surplus fund will meet every human want or demand. Old Mother-Earth is a rich old dame. Her coffers are full and her resources boundless. She spreads a rich and varied table and serves all with lavish hand. She has beds in her chambers, clothing in her wardrobe, bread in her pantry, water in her reservoirs, metal and fuel in her cellars, heat and force in her boilers, sunshine and fresh air in her yards and space enough to accommodate all in her magnificent domicile. No one, who lives on fair terms with Mother-Earth, needs go hungry, naked, cold or unsheltered. The wealth, beauty and power of this swinging orb are simply inestimable, incomprehensible and glorious. To say they are enough to feed, clothe, house, comfort and develop the human family is to utter a commonplace, self-evident truth but one worthy to be kept in mind. There is no justification in the natural resources of the world for the poverty of any man, woman or child on earth.

Natural Causes Only Temporary

It is true that temporary poverty may and does come to some through natural unavoidable phenomena such as drought, floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and conflagrations. These have caused widespread and intense suffering in the past. They have made the rich poor and the poor poorer. But they are passing causes and their effects only temporary. Today they are infrequent and the poverty resulting from them small. They are not now the cause of the widespread poverty in the land. If there is widespread constant and dire poverty among progressive civilized people it cannot be attributed to natural phenomena.

But it is assumed and sometimes boldly asserted that the poverty of the many is the result of a Divine decree and this assertion is justified by reference to the scriptural saying, "The poor ye have always with you." But the facts and presuppositions in the case are against this theory.

Not a Divine Decree

In the first place Jesus taught us to regard God as a just, righteous, impartial, tenderhearted, loving, universal Father. He told us to address Him as "My" Father and "Our" Father. He led us to believe that God is no respecter of persons, but regards all equally; that He is so interested in us that He will feed and clothe us better than the birds, and lilies; that the very hairs of our heads are numbered and that no one perishes with His consent; that He is so just and merciful as to send rain and sunshine on the just and unjust; [illegible] our sorrows, hear our [illegible] our cries, and to receive back, feed and clothe even the wasteful and dissolute prodigal son. And Jesus emphatically declared God to be better than the best human father, for said He, "What man is there of you who, if his son ask of him a loaf, will give him a stone; or if he ask for a fish, will give him a serpent? If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in Heaven, give good things to them that ask Him?" All this carries with it the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and equal rights and privileges in the presence of God and to all the bounties of His creation.

The doctrine of God, as taught by Jesus, with its correlations and implications, does not sound as though God was the Author of poverty. If the God of Jesus Christ is the true God, then He distinctly forbids anyone to say that He decrees the vast majority of His children to abject poverty and a few to fabulous fortunes. There is absolutely nothing in the character of God, as we know Him through Jesus, to warrant such a belief. To make the poverty of the many and the wealth of a few the result of God's ordering would be to degrade Him lower than some brutes and certainly below the standard of common human fatherhood. For there is not one of us who, having any number of children and the power of decision in our own hands, would decree the majority of them to poverty and suffering and a small minority to plenty and affluence. This would be the act of a devil and not of a man of God with parental love. But God is not the Author of poverty and cannot be justly held responsible for it. The Father-God is infinitely better than the father brute or father man, and he could not institute such an accursed condition among His children.

This philosophically deducted fact is beautifully illustrated in a concrete way. God is brought near to our vision, made to walk the highways of life, mingle with men, and enter human relations in Jesus Christ. If Jesus is a revelation of God, then we must note his sympathy for and identification with the poor. Jesus was born of poor parents and reared in a hovel, amid poverty. He knew nothing but the fare and surroundings of the poor in life, and a poor man's lot, and a pauper's grave in death. He lived among the poor and spent his life for the poor. He preached to the poor and the poor heard him gladly. He healed and fed the poor. He demanded for them justice and liberty and condemned, in no unmeasured terms, those who oppressed them. He selected his friends and disciples from among the poor. He founded his Church, which was an objective expression of his conception of the Kingdom of God on earth, and committed it to the care of the poor. See, among other things, the Sermon on the Mount, the Parables of the Kingdom and those Parables called the Last Judgment, the Good Samaritan, the Rich Man and Lazarus and the Lost Sheep. Christianity, the Christianity of the New Testament, always was and always will be a message of "Good Tidings" from a beneficent and loving Father to the oppressed and suffering poor of His Children.

Christ a revelation of God! Do we accept it? Then must we say that God would feed the poor, clothe the naked, heal the sick, give sight to the blind, comfort the sad and disconsolate, regardless of color, blood, tongue or creed, and strike the shackles from all who are enslaved. He would abolish millionaire and pauper, bring together into one co-operative brotherhood the peoples of all the earth and equalize the opportunities [illegible] hungry or cold, if God's will were done on earth as it is in heaven. God, our heavenly Father, the Author of poverty? Preposterous! As well accuse Him of being the Author of Murder as the cause of poverty.

Poor Not to Be Always With Us

If there is nothing in the character of God, as revealed in and illustrated by the life of Christ, to warrant the belief that poverty is the offspring of God, neither is there a word in the Bible to justify it. So far as we know there is not a word in the Book decreeing many to dire poverty and a few to fabulous wealth. There is one parallel passage in Matthew, Mark and John which some quote, or misquote, and distort into evidence in support of the contention that social inequalities are a part of the Divine order. That passage reads: "For ye have the poor always with you," Mark adding these words: "and whensoever ye will ye can do them good." This passage, interpreted in the light of the whole Book and the immediate context does not in any sense commit Christ to the proposition that poverty is a permanent part of the Divine order. In the first place, it is the only passage of its kind in the New Testament, and to make it mean that poverty always has and always will exist is to put it in manifest and violent opposition to the character of God as we see it in the character, example and teachings of the Christ, and the letter and spirit of the whole Bible. If we must interpret it in that sense, then we must say it is a flat contradiction to the contents of the entire Bible; and upon that assumption we are justified in regarding its authenticity with suspicion. If you insist that it means poverty is a Divine institution, then we must insist the passage is a willful interpolation inserted for some unknown reason by an ignorant copyist. But the passage does not shut us up to that alternative. The trouble is not in the passage, but in the people who, through prejudice, ignorance or self-interest insist on misreading it. The simple [illegible] present, and not the future perfect tense is used.

It does not say, "Ye shall or will always have the poor with you," [illegible] "Ye have the poor always with you." And the circumstance that brought forth these words from the lips of Jesus makes it plain what they mean. They were an answer to the blatant, insincere, carping criticism of the disciples, and of Judas in particular, against the poor faithful woman who expressed her devotion to Jesus in breaking a box of precious, costly ointment on His head a few days prior to his cruel death. In paraphrase Jesus said to them: "You condemn this prophetic, self-sacrificing act of this poor woman on the ground of waste; you say the ointment might have been sold for much and the proceeds given to the poor. True, but wait, I shall not be with you much longer, not many days, and this beautiful deed of this loving, innocent woman not only expresses her devotion, but has, unwittingly to her and you, given me my burial preparation. If your hearts go out to the poor as much as you pretend, you will have plenty of chance to exercise it when I am gone. The poor are about you on every hand; they will be here tomorrow as they are today and when you desire you can do them good." Such is the import of the passage and it is not in disagreement with anything we know of God's order through the Book or Christ. Jesus knew that poverty would not perish from the earth in his life-time, not at the moment of his death. If he knew the economic principles of the Kingdom of Mammon, he also knew that poverty cannot perish from the earth so long as they are operative. He knew, and we should learn to know, that poverty is not the result of God's ordering, but of the willful and persistent violation of God's ordering. When violation of God's order ceases, when God's will is done on earth as it is in heaven, then will poverty vanish from human society, as naturally as the morning mists before the morning sun.

Proverbs Misused

Dr. Edward T. Devine expressed this thought for us in the following forceful language. He says: "Some of us have the inspiration of a profound conviction that poverty may virtually be abolished. This is at bottom a religious conviction, and it is not disturbed by the sayings in the Old and in the New Testament, which have been interpreted to mean that poverty is our everlasting heritage. We look for the coming of a prophet who shall say to us as Ezekiel said of a very similar proverb to the Elders of Israel:

"'What mean ye, that ye use this proverb in the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, said the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sinneth it shall die. But if a man be just and do that which is lawful and right . . . he shall surely live, said the Lord God.'

"When the saying in Deuteronomy, that 'the poor shall never cease out of the land,' or the saying of Jesus, 'the poor ye have with you always and when ye will ye may do them good,' are used, as they sometimes are, to discourage radical and effective reform policies, or to postpone the immediate relief of distress, we feel ample warrant for something like Ezekiel's indignant language: 'What mean ye that ye use this proverb in the land of opportunity?' 'As I live, said the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in America. Behold, all souls are mine. If a man be just and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, and this implies that he shall have a living income."

Personal Causes

Having failed to find the cause of poverty in natural causes, let us now turn to see if we can find it in personal causes. We must discriminate between those personal causes over which the individual has little or no control, such as heredity, sickness, infirmity, old age and death, and those he is directly, more or less, responsible for, such as extravagance, laziness, drunkenness and crime. There is no question but that much of the existing poverty results from the series of causes first named, but the individual cannot be justly held responsible for that. Man is not born bad from choice, nor does he, from choice, become sick, infirm, old or bury himself in the cemetery. Sickness, infirmity, old age, and death are incidents of life and always entail economic loss among the poor. These causes are beyond the control of the individual and people should not be held responsible for them nor be allowed to suffer because of them. Society should feed, clothe and shelter any and all who become dependent through these causes; for society, city, state and national government should exist to care for those who, through natural or social causes are incapacitated to care for themselves. We shall not, therefore, consider these among the personal causes of poverty.

It is different with crime, laziness, drunkenness and extravagance. The individual man has more or less control over these and is justly held responsible for any poverty resulting from them. If man entails upon himself and dependents poverty from indulging these sins their poverty is a just retribution. Mr. Robert Hunter expresses this thought for us in the following beautiful way: "The sins of men should bring their own punishment and the poverty which punishes the vicious and the sinful is good and necessary. Social or industrial institutions that save men from the painful consequences of the vice of folly are not productive of the greatest good. There is unquestionably a poverty which men deserve and by such poverty men are perhaps taught needful lessons. It would be unwise to legislate out of existence, even where it is possible to do so, that poverty which penalizes the voluntary idle and vicious. In other words, there are individual causes of poverty which should be eradicated by the individual himself, with such help as his family, the teachers and the preachers may give him. For him society may be able to do little or nothing. The poor which are always to be with us are, it seems to me, in poverty of their own making."

Dissipation

How much poverty in our country results from extravagance, laziness, drunkenness and crime we may never be able to tabulate, but that considerable does spring from these causes there can be no question. The table of figures for crime, prostitution and drunkenness tells its own sad tale. There are 85,000 criminals in penal institutions, the vast majority of which are males, bread-winners from poor homes. It is estimated there is far in excess of 1,000,000 prostituted women, which must mean an economic strain on many lives and homes. "Our national drink bill, taken from the official internal revenue reports, is $2,275,000,000, or about $25 per head for every man, woman and child; and about $112 per family." Not all, of course, but a goodly portion, far too much of this money, comes out of the meager income of the wage-earner. An average of $100 per annum for drink for each home, out of an average annual wage of $500 tells its own story of poverty and woe. The economic stress and strain springing out of this record of debauchery and crime on the homes of the poor and its bearing on the problem of poverty is too evident to need any comment. We must not minimize it nor should we exaggerate it. There is another side to the question which is well to keep in mind. It is barely possible that these things may be as much the effects as they are the causes of poverty. Hence the suggestions which follow are not offered in extenuation of the gravity of the situation nor to diminish, in the least, the blame justly falling upon those who bring upon themselves, or others, poverty from these causes.

"Extravagance" of the Poor

It is claimed by some writers that some of the poverty of the poor arises from their extravagance. Whether this is true or not depends entirely upon your definition of extravagance and whether the poor are guilty of the practice from your standpoint. The literal meaning of the word is, "wildness, excess, lavishness, exorbitance, prodigality." A person is extravagant who goes beyond reasonable limits in the expenditure of money for food, clothes, homes, pleasure or anything else. Strictly speaking, extravagance is synonymous with luxuries. Using the word according to its real import, are the poor people extravagant? The unequivocal answer must be, No; they cannot be if they desire to be. Their average income, cost of living and the needs of their families prevent it. If they spent all their income on luxuries and depended on others for their ordinary living, they could not be exceedingly extravagant according to the literal meanings of the term. The poor, and by the poor I mean here the average workman, cannot be extravagant.

But there is another sense attached to the word that is rarely clearly defined by some who claim poverty is a child of extravagance. They usually use it to denote a mode of living in excess of income. That some do live this way no one will question. It must be admitted that some very poorly paid people dress well, feed well, and are nicely domiciled. They present a splendid front and many times it becomes a puzzling question to an outsider to understand how they manage. Do they run on family income, credit, graft, the sale of their souls for the appearance of their bodies? You may answer as you will. But that many of the poor live a splendid external life on a meager income is a fact and you call it extravagance. I calmly deny it. It is not extravagance, but an evidence of a noble and praiseworthy ambition. It can only be called extravagance in comparison with wages, which is a misnomer, but not in comparison with human need and aspiration. The poor need more than they get to live up to the ideals of the soul and the standard of life set up by our age. Do you realize, my well-to-do "Christian" brother, that you have set the pace of life for the poor; that you demand they shall dress well to handle and sell your goods; that they must live in certain sections of the city and occupy, and have furnished in a splendid fashion, a certain styled house to be worthy of your company and to be accounted aught; that they must attend parties and functions fittingly attired, if they would be accorded the glad hand; that you are responsible for the pattern of their lives and penalize them for failure to fashion themselves after it? Perhaps you do realize these things and are proud of them. But do you not also see that when the poor attempt to walk in your ways that it finally leads them to moral and physical bankruptcy, to shame and disgrace, to the rubbish heap of society? Then you put up the cry of extravagance! extravagance!! extravagance!!! Consistency, thou art a jewel! You, my corporation magnate; you, my land-lord and home-owner; you, my money king and master; you, my ladies and queens of society; you, my big brothers and sisters all; you are willing to take the glory of leadership, but not the responsibility for the ruin which your leadership entails! You blame the poor for ever trying and yet ever failing to be what you demand they shall be. The poor extravagant? Never, in the proper sense of the term. If some live up to and even beyond their income, they do not and cannot on their present income live up to, much less beyond, the loudly crying need of their aspirations. They do, we all do, want to live and appear as well as the other fellow. This is not extravagance but a holy and worthy ambition. And when we all get equal justice, we can and will do it without being forced, as many of us are now, to prostitute manhood, womanhood and childhood, our talents and service, our minds and souls.

The Cause of Laziness

An attorney for the Standard Oil Trust has informed us, "The reason poverty exists is because nature or the devil has made some men weak and imbecile and others lazy and worthless; and neither man nor God can do much for one who will do nothing for himself." It is just possible, as suggested by Mr. Call, that men may yet outgrow their moral weakness and political imbecility, and decide in the end to help themselves. But are there lazy, shiftless and worthless people? It is, doubtless, true there are, and out of deference for the learned gentleman who advanced the assertion, we will say there are and poverty follows in their train. But we are not willing to accept his dictum that "nature or the devil" made them so, nor that neither "man nor God" can do anything for them. There are lazy people but they were never created by the devil. The devil is a busy personage and his business of world-conquest is an urgent matter and he would neither create nor keep in his service a lazy, shiftless wretch. He has no earthly use for the wandering, aimless sluggard He wants the brilliant and industrious and makes it worth while for them to be in his employ. That is one reason why so many lawyers and others are on that side of the fence. There may be lazy people, but God and nature never created them. God Himself is a busy worker and His business of world-conquest is too urgent and His dependence on men too great to think of Him creating the incorrigible vagrant and dependent. Seriously, it is a stigma on God and the masterpiece of His creative genius to say man is constitutionally and incurably lazy. God made man to work; and commanded him to work, and decreed that man should ever earn his bread by work. He authorized the statement that if a man did not work, whether he lived in a brown-stone building in the east end or in an infected quarter of the slums, whether he rode in an automobile or on the bumpers of a box-car, he should not eat. God has put in every man's being an ever recurring demand for food which compels him to work or compels him to make others work for him, or die. Impelling hunger is God's safe-guard against laziness, and if society would follow God's ordering, every man would be made to work for his bread or die. The reason some men do not work is because we have permitted ourselves to break with God's ruling. We have wrongfully made it legal for some men to live on the labor of others.

There are lazy people, but they are not so created by God, nature or the devil; they are made by society. Laziness in some quarters does cause poverty, but what is the cause of laziness? Laziness is not constitutional, but an effect. Laziness is the child of over-work and lack of interest. Laziness is a reaction, a moral revolt against the too long work periods, without proper rest periods. It is a sort of non-violent warfare against service shorn of justice. Proper work is good for man, physically, mentally and morally, but too much over-straining kills man. The physiology of fatigue teaches that the "expenditure of any kind of energy manufactures in the body certain poisonous products which are eliminated during rest, possibly through the action of an antitoxin generated in the body for the purpose. When the expenditure of energy is excessive or the period of rest is insufficient, the fatigue poisons are not entirely eliminated before the manufacture of fresh ones begin again. Work done by a fatigued muscle, furthermore, has more injurious effects than severer work done by an untired muscle. Each quarter hour addition to a working-day, therefore, beyond the point at which normal fatigue is reached, exacts compound interest.

Viewing the point calmly and weighing impartially all the factors involved, the long hours, the hard work, the insanitary surrounding, the short rest periods, most workers endure, is it not really a matter of wonder that more persons are not either absolutely lazy or indifferent to work? I certainly affirm, if it were not for absolute physical necessity not a man among us would engage in manual labor under existing conditions. To fully account for laziness we must couple with work, lack of personal interest. What interest in life has the child-laborer, overworked wife and mother, and the majority of laborers in mills and factories? Their jobs, for the most part, are monotonous and their remuneration is positively disheartening. They work and work and yet get nothing. All they think about, all they can think about, is the wages they get for their toil and these are not inspiring. At length it dawns upon them that they can get along in this world as well without work as with it, and the result is a crop of swindlers, exploiters, grafters, corruptionists, tramps and vagrants.

Cure for Laziness

We, God and man, can do something to abate and stamp out laziness and poverty arising from it. Man is born to work and will work when his work is pleasant and profitable. Man will work for himself and others, as the material progress of civilization abundantly proves, when he has something to work for. When he has nothing to work for other than to make other people rich and mighty, he will shirk work and avoid it if possible. Did you ever hear of the dirty, destructive tenant and careless and shirking workman? Both are of one class and grow out of a lack of interest and a consciousness that they are taxed too high for the privilege to work and live. Did you ever know persons to destroy their own homes or shirk their own business? Not often. They usually take care of the one and look after the other. The reason is: they own them, they have interest in them and selfish interest will prompt careful oversight. Put man under his own vine and fig-tree, give him part ownership in the means of life, give him something to live for beside drudgery, and he will surprise you with his ingenuity and industry. If society would rid itself of the sluggard, it must first abolish the cause: long hours, weeks and months without a Sabbath, monotonous, nerve-wrecking work, unprotected and man-killing machinery, poor wages and slavery. If society wills it, laziness, which is nothing but a non-resisting protest against work under existing conditions, can be stamped out of existence. Make all men work and give all men justice in labor and all men will want to work. Make it proper for some to live in idleness and the "bum" has as much right to live on the labor of others as have the millionaires. Brand idleness as a crime and punish it with starvation and it will die a natural death. Make all men work, give them equal privileges of access to God's green earth, make them co-owners in the tools of production, distribute the burden of toil to all shoulders, equitably divide the results of co-operative toil, make life worth while for every creature, and the prediction is not wild that laziness, shiftlessness and indifference will perish from the earth as surely as the winter blasts will pass with the coming of the summer zephyrs.

Poverty Causes Drunkenness and Crime

That poverty results from drunkenness and crime there is no doubt. But what proportion comes from these causes, it is very difficult to tell. That drunkenness and crime cause poverty needs no argument in proof, but that poverty causes drunkenness and crime is not so readily and universally conceded by the laity. It may be difficult to prove in what proportion they are cause and effect, but that they do interact and play the part of cause and effect in turn is conceded on every hand by students. Most economists and social workers are agreed that poverty is a mighty factor in causing drunkenness and crime as drunkenness and crime are in causing poverty, and that not all the poverty and woe in existence is the result of drunkenness and crime. We believe that more drunkenness and crime are the result of poverty than poverty is the result of drunkenness and crime. That devout servant of God, Miss Frances Willard, said in her presidential address before the World's W. C. T. U. in London, June, 1895: "For myself, twenty-one years of study and observation has convinced me that poverty is a prime cause of intemperance and that misery is the mother and hereditary appetite the Father of the drink hallucination. We once said that intemperance was the cause of poverty; now we have completed the circle of truth by saying poverty causes intemperance and that the underfed, under-sheltered wage-earning teetotaler deserves a thousand times more credit than the teetoler who is well paid, well fed and well cared for."

Our brief survey of these so-called personal causes of poverty leads us to the conclusion that while they are responsible for a part of existing poverty they are not such prolific causes as is often supposed. They are causes of poverty, but poverty cause them more than they cause poverty. They are more social sins than personal. The so-called extravagance of the poor is nothing but an effort on their part to live up to the standard of life held out to them by society. Laziness is not inherent, but the result of heredity and most unfavorable working conditions. Crime and drunkenness are as much or more the effects than the cause of poverty. We should exercise charity toward all men until we are sure his condition is the cause of his sins or his sins the cause of his condition. Having discovered this, we are prepared to move to punish the sinner who causes bad conditions or to remove the conditions which cause the sinner.

Social Causes of Poverty

There remains to be considered the social causes as springs of poverty. By these causes we mean occupational diseases, industrial accidents and deaths, unemployment, insufficient work, exploitation through low wages and high prices for houses and commodities. These causes are called social because they are the creatures of society. The individual has no control over them whatsoever in our day. It is not optional with him whether he shall work here or there, under one set of conditions or another, so many hours a day or so many days a week or for so much per hour, week or month. He must work under the conditions offered or go idle, starve, become a vagrant, commit crime or commit suicide. This is not overdrawn; it is too true. Whether a man, who wants to work, is idle none of the time, part of the time or all of the time is wholly in the hands of the owners of the places of work. Whether the conditions of labor are safe, sanitary and conducive to health is also, very largely, in the hands of the owners of mills and factories. And whether the people are exploited, robbed and dunned to death in both mill and market, is, as life at this present moment proves, absolutely in the determination of those who own both mill and market. The real causes of the overwhelming percentage of poverty are as far removed from the control of those who suffer from it as the control of the sun is from us. It is quite evident, therefore, that if widespread poverty exists in our midst and natural causes do not forordain it and personal causes produce but a questionable or negligible part of it, that social causes must be directly responsible for it.

At last we have tracked the Beast that ravages the people to his lair. His name is capitalism, his stripes are the dollar marks, his appetite insatiable, and his business the destruction of all competitors for personal profits. Poverty of the many springs out of the profit system. The causes of poverty are not natural nor so much personal but social. The chief of these are, the enormous infant and adult mortality list, which fall heaviest on the backs of the poor; occupational sickness, accidents and deaths, with little or no compensation for the economic loss involved; enforced idleness through numerous social causes, low wages and high cost of living. Capitalism is directly responsible for the impoverishment, enslavement and destruction of the vast majority of the poor people of the earth.

Can poverty be abolished? Ought it to be abolished? How can it be abolished? Yes, poverty can be abolished and it ought to be abolished forthwith. It can be abolished only by destroying capitalism, the cause of present poverty, and the substitution therefor of Socialism. If Capitalism is the cause of poverty Socialism must be the cure. Socialism is a Divine system of political economy that can and will settle the problem of the distribution of socially created wealth. When a majority of earth's teeming millions agree on this program, and join hands in voting it into power, poverty will vanish from the earth as the darkness of night vanishes before the rising sun.

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FORWARD CHRISTIAN SLAVES

Written for the Christian Socialist by Will Herford, Suggested by the Anti-Socialist Preaching of the M. & R. F. M. in Atlanta

The rich Pharisees who gathered the rent,
Went from house to house as today they do,
Saying, "Good folks, work hard, be content,
There's joy in Heaven for each of you."

Yes "Joy in Heaven" and that's about all,
Little hope on earth but a living bare,
For the working folk who are pushed to the wall;
But what do the Forward Religious care?

Yes, this much they care, "That your eyes you fix,
On that shining shore far beyond the sky,
Then, you're robbed here and now by graft and tricks,
While dream your dreams of the "sweet bye and bye."

They fight to a finish the Socialist hope,
Which they say "Human nature" will never allow.
And offer their "Forward" religious dope,
In place of The Kingdom Here and Now.

From Christ's day to this, the Pharisee crowd
Has fought tooth and nail for graft and wealth,
Has gone backward and forward praying loud,
While they whispered: "God help me help myself."

THE MATCH

By David Rex

(Note: A commission appointed by the Bureau of Labor discovered eighty-three cases of phosphorus poisoning in three match factories in 1910, and found that 65 per cent of the employes are exposed to poisoning. A bill prohibiting the use of phosphorus in match-manufacture was brought before Congress, and the Diamond Match Co. met the objection that such prohibition would lead to a match monopoly, by relinquishing its patent on the harmless process. But the law was not passed, and the manufacturers still use the phosphorus because there is more profit in it.)

Passing along the street of a strange city, I took out my match-box and struck a big brown-headed match to light my pipe. The blaze flared up in the growing dark, and whether I was nervous or whether the match was enchanted I know not; but the blaze stayed before my eyes and turned into a big blotch of blood. I threw down the burned stick and rubbed my hand over my face. But the blood stayed. I blinked hard, but that had no effect. The dark-red blotch covered the path of my vision in the dusk. Then it seemed that I heard a step behind me, and I felt a hand laid on my shoulder. I turned and the sight startled me. There behind me was a man—the form of a man—with visage fearfully marred. His upper teeth showed, partly eaten away, his lower jaw hung limp and crumpled, toothless, boneless, nothing but loose scarred skin. His presence seemed to create a loathsome stench. He towered slightly above me, a brawny man of middle age, at the height of his physical strength. But he was so ghastly I shuddered. He gripped my shoulder hard.

"That was an evil match," he said.

I was silent.

"That was a 'parlor' match, made out of phosphorus."

"Well?" I inquired.

"Well!" he repeated after me. "Not well. That was a bloody match. Are you a working man?"

"I am," I replied.

"I was," said he, "but that match put me out of the business."

I stared. He pointed significantly to his disfigured face. But I pretended not to understand.

"I worked for a Match Company dipping sticks into phosphorus. Naturally I had to breathe as I worked. The phosphorus found a tooth starting to decay and began work in it. Soon my teeth were badly gone, and then my jaw-bone. To save the rest of myself I had the bone removed. That is why I'm hideous."

As he spoke the stench was fearful.

"Why did you make matches?" I asked.

"That's simple," he said. "When a boy is left with a mother and three sisters to support, he tries to get a job. The Match Company offered the best wages to start, and, I thought, a chance to rise. A fellow can't let his people starve. Then I spent all my time in the factory, and so couldn't learn anything else. Dipping matches was all I could do. I would have been lost in any other business. So I had to stay with it or face the risk of starvation if I quit. Which I am doing now, until I find a job."

"Oh, well," said I, "when you began, to be sure, there was only one kind of a match. But now one is made without phosphorus."

"No, they are not making that match. They are still using phosphorus in this country. In France the government owns the match business, and they don't use phosphorus, because they have to pension the men they damage. But here it's different. There's five per cent more profit in the phosphorus match. I represent the five per cent profit the manufacturer gets. Don't I look like profit? Today they value a man only on an economic basis. The professors estimate him at $2,500 apiece. But that is only the professors. The capitalistic class don't estimate him at all so long as they don't have to pay the bills for his injuries. In days of slavery they didn't whip their slaves enough to injure them because they had invested money in the negro. But they didn't invest any money in me, and they could get others like me. So it makes no difference. Five per cent profit is away ahead of a piece of dirt in the shape of a man."

"Well, well, my fellow," said I, "you have, indeed, suffered, but are you not a little bitter? Are you not looking at the manufacturer from a prejudiced point of view?"

"Certainly, sir. I am prejudiced by my sufferings, by the injustice done to working people. I am prejudiced against the system that makes capitalists of some people and slaves of others. I am not prejudiced against every capitalist as such. But I am deeply prejudiced against any man who will willfully cause human suffering for five per cent surplus profit. Yes, my friend, I am prejudiced. But all men are prejudiced. The capitalist is prejudiced by his greed, and his ambition to make millions. The almighty dollar shuts out his view so that he cannot see the suffering he causes. He is prejudiced in favor of the few of whom he is one. I am prejudiced in favor of the many of whom I am one. It is a question of which prejudice is best."

I began to think. Sure enough, I thought to myself, the prejudices of life are to be measured as to their value to mankind. For this man is right. The very fact that we live and have experiences, necessitates our being prejudiced by these experiences. And if the race is going to have any bettter future, it is certain that the prejudices which are best and ought to prevail are those calculated to bring the highest good to the most people.

I was silent a moment as this took hold of me. The disfigured man was walking beside me now. The blood-blotch which for the time I had forgotten, seemed to have settled on me. He was looking at me and seemed to see it.

"So you are a workingman?" he muttered to himself.

"Your view of prejudice seems to me to be very good; but," I returned in self-defense, "you speak of the capitalist class and of your class. This is a democratic country. It has no classes. And moreover your remarks sound socialistic."

My companion seemed to clear his throat in impatience. "If there are not any classes in America, then there are no well-marked prejudices held by certain groups of men in common. But it certainly looks as if a large group of men in America were out after the dollar at any cost, and were prejudiced by this aim. From the labor troubles that have agitated our country it also appears that a large majority of workingmen are agreed in their prejudice against certain widely prevalent labor conditions. As to the Socialism of it, the word won't bite you, my dear fellow."

I started to speak, but somehow he had disappeared.

I said I was a laboring man. I had thought I was. I clerked in a grocery store in which I held stock. I had been selling these very matches. And he of the disfigured face represented the five per cent profit which the companies made, and which I in a small measure shared. The blood-blotch was still upon me. I must get it off.

* * * * * * *

It took several weeks for this incident to seap through the eaves of my upper story, and get well soaked into my brain. But it is all very plain and obvious now. My company, and since then every other merchant of my town, has now boycotted the phosphorus match. And somehow the religion of atheism in me has begun to give way to a kind of a kingdom-of-God-on-earth idea, like the brotherhood notion of Jesus Christ. And I no longer vote the Republican ticket.

COMPENSATION

A news item states that the Goodyear Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, has just declared a stock dividend of one hundred per cent. The directors also expected to increase the capital stock from $6,000,000 to $15,000,000. This will conceal the enormous earnings by reducing the rate per cent of dividends.

Socialists are often asked where we are to get the funds with which to compensate the owners of the industrial plants which we propose to make public property. The answer is obvious. A plant that earns ten per cent will pay for itself in ten years; a plant that earns one hundred per cent will pay for itself in one year. The Standard Oil Company has been known to pay eighty per cent dividends in one year. At that rate it would pay for itself in fifteen months. But this is figuring on the face value of the capital stock, if the actual investment alone were to be paid for the figures for most corporations would be considerably lower. It looks as though the Goodyear Company had decided to forestall the coming of Socialism and compensate itself in advance, but we hardly expect them to turn their plant over to the people and retire with what they can carry off.

W. H. W.

THE SEX LIFE
Three Notable Books by Dr. Edith Lowry

Truths for Boys—A sweet, pure, fascinating, helpful book, which every boy from 10 to 16 years of age should read. Parents should read it also and talk the matter over with their boys. This book is of priceless value, beautiful, true, needful. 55c postpaid.

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Herself—a book for women, young and old. The importance of this book to girls and women cannot be overstated. Tells what every woman must know for her self-protection. Plain, tactful, instructive, startling. $1.10 postpaid.

The Christian Socialist especially recommends these three books in the interest of purity, health, happiness, honor and success in life for both boys and girls. Order of the Christian Socialist, 5443 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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CONFERENCE AT BUFFALO

The Seventh General Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, which convenes at Buffalo, N. Y., April 25-28, is of unusual importance for several reasons:

1. The meeting of the delegates for fellowship, to hear the reports and to transact needful business.

2. The program of the Conference and the addresses of the Fellowship speakers at the various churches will reach thousands with the glad, good news of Christian Socialism.

3. Proposed changes in the constitution are to be discussed and voted on.

4. The determination of Comrade Ward not to stand for re-election requires the selection of a new General Secretary.

5. The seat of the Conference, the great and thriving city of Buffalo, only a few miles from Niagara Falls, adds importance and attraction to the meeting.

6. The discussion of Fellowship plans during the campaign of 1912 and of the opportunity before the organization during the next few years of thrilling agitation in America will be of exceptional importance.

Every center should send delegates.

FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE.

The conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship will be in session at Buffalo, N. Y., in Arnold's Hall, Main and Ferry streets, this week, Thursday to Sunday, April 25-28. Address W. P. Greatbatch, sec., Buffalo Center.

THE TITANIC DISASTER

How suddenly, frightfully, overwhelmingly nature mocks the pride and puny strength of man. The giant "unsinkable" ship, newest, biggest, strongest, with air-tight compartments enough to hold her up after the heaviest head-on collision, was ripped side-long like a paper craft when she glanced upon an iceberg, and sank with fifteen hundred people to the bottom of the sea, presenting to the horrified world the story of the most unexpected and stupendous marine disaster known to history.

It is clear that this appalling catastrophe was the result of the steamship company's desire to break a speed record; that if the doomed captain had heeded the wireless warnings which informed him of the icebergs and had slowed down, the noble vessel and all her freight of precious lives and cargo would have come safely into port; but is there any hope that permanent change in marine competition will result from this terrible accident? The newspapers will profit for a time while insurance companies suffer loss, the broken hearts of bereaved wives will bleed, and possibly for a while the passage across the ocean will be safer because of the greater caution of the ships' officers, yet soon the mad race will be going more swiftly than ever. For man must conquer nature and find swifter means of passage from shore to shore, however great the danger.

Under socialism, however, the loss of a ship and its cargo, and the support of the widowed and orphaned whose loved ones are lost will be shared by the whole people and hearts already crushed with grief will not suffer further anguish on account of poverty and worry.

Meanwhile, if the Titanic disaster causes complete equipment of ships with life-boats, if it develops to perfection the instruments which warn of the proximity of icebergs, if it results in choosing a more southern and safer route, if it makes captains more careful and companies less relentless, these blessings will more than compensate for this awful incident.

THE RIGHT ANSWER

Comrade Coulson of Pennsylvania writes as follows:

Dear Comrade: I enclose you check for $125 as balm for aching hearts, knowing you will understand how to apply the remedy. Using one hundred to send your paper to the ministers and (the rest for books and sub cards). Fraternally yours.

P. S.—I admire your stand in the Barnes matter and trust you will keep fighting for reinstatement.

This is the right answer. We gratefully acknowledge the sane, loyal and generous course of this Comrade. Every Comrade who can help much or little should do so. Rest assured that Comrade Carr and the Christian Socialist will remain loyal to the cause of Socialism and that he will be reinstated. The black blotch of his expulsion must be cleansed from the Socialist Party banner, and the Christian Socialist must be sustained in its great and glorious work for Socialism. Comrade, do your part nobly now.

HOLD STILL, COMRADES

In addition to the many protests previously received which we felt it best not to print, because we wish to agitate the matter as little as possible since the main victory is won, burning words of further protest against the outrage committed against Comrade Carr are again reaching us, and indignant Comrades in different states are asking: "What shall we do?"

We appreciate the feeling of these Comrades more than can be expressed and are grateful for their letters. And our answer is, do nothing until you have fully consulted us.

The national referendum to restore Comrade Carr was seconded by many locals, several of which seconds reached the national office after the time limit had been declared past. A special ruling, in the very face of the Carr referendum and doubtless for the particular purpose of preventing its going to the party at large, was made by the old N. E. C. to the effect that the time allowed for seconds to national referendums should be dated from the first notice in the weekly bulletin—which goes only to a few hundred national and state officers and editors and a few subscribers, and is in no true sense a publication to the Party—instead of the monthly bulletin which goes to the branches generally throughout the country and is a real publication to the Party.

Therefore, if another national referendum is attempted it must be undertaken by concerted action. So please do nothing until you have agreed with us about the matter.

Besides, we desire to let this matter rest a little while until the Cook County Delegate Committee has had time to thoroughly digest their recent action in the Carr case. We certainly can stand it if they can. And we desire to give them another chance, if they wish it, to take proper action. If they do not wish it, we will have something to propose later tc the comrades at large.

Rev. E. E. Carr is holding a ten-day series of Christian Socialist meetings in churches and halls at Buffalo in preparation for the Fellowship conference.

ALL THE SAME

Whether the enemies of Socialism talk against the coming change or remain silent, our great cause gains. The charge of Taft's manager that Roosevelt is talking "rank Socialism" when he advocates direct legislation will only amuse those who know what Socialism really is, yet it will tend to remove prejudice against Socialism from the minds of millions of progressives and will lead many of them to study Socialism and come over to us early.

"To achieve deathless fame," says Elbert Hubbard, "choose an unpopular cause *that you know is just*, then work for it, live for it, die for it."

CAME OUT STRONG

Rev. Dr. Frederick Cowan, pastor of the Asbury M. E. Church, Buffalo, N. Y., one of the large down town churches, preached a brave, clear, able sermon on Socialism last Sunday night in which he declared Socialism is surely coming and coming rapidly. May God bless every Socialist preacher with grace enough to advocate Socialism and sense enough not to bark on the one string until his brethren are disgusted. We need Socialist pastors and pulpitors more than anything else. "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another," *but do not leave the ministry.* It properly belongs to Socialist preachers anyway.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The referendum to elect seven members of the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist party resulted in the choice of Meta Berger, May Wood Simons, Grace D. Brewer, Lena Morrow Lewis, Luella Twining, Minnie E. Branstetter and Ella Carr.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY

Mrs. Kate O'Hare was elected International Secretary of the Socialist party over Morris Hillquit, who has been International Secretary for several years. Hillquit will yet make the discovery that his Russian Grand Duke tactics will no longer work in the American Socialist party. Every prominent participant in the Barnes fraud case has already felt the Party rebuke—and there is more coming, for justice will at last prevail.

The expulsion of Rev. E. E. Carr by the Cook County local and the election of his wife (one of his most loyal supporters in the Barnes case) as a member of the Woman's National Committee (by votes of both men and women) shows again that the Cook County bosses are not in harmony with the movement in general in other matters besides their wavering and falling election returns.

We want $160.00 to send the Prosser Special to all the Methodist preachers in America. Will you help? Send all the money for this purpose you can spare. And it's just as good for other preachers. It ought to go to every one—and that would cost about $1,500.00. But some comrade who reads this could and ought to send the whole amount. DO BIG THINGS FOR THIS GREAT CAUSE. It will do immense good and inspire others.

NOTICE

You can secure the services of Rev. J. W. Wells, State Secretary of the Christian Socialist Fellowship of California on his return trip from the Buffalo Conference and the National Mr. Wells is a delegate to both gatherings.

Address Rev. J. W. Wells, care W. P. Greatbatch, Main and Terry Sts., Buffalo, N. Y., and after May 12th to 5443 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

If you want Comrade Wells' service write at once as the time is very short in which to make dates.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

I will be glad to go anywhere that my services are demanded to lecture for Socialism. I know that times are hard and money is close, therefore I will not ask the comrades to guarantee daily wages, and only ask that they arrange for transportation expenses in advance and do the best they can for me at the meetings by collections and sales of literature. Let me know where I am wanted and I will furnish the bills to post to announce meetings. Prefer Oklahoma as field and places nearest to my home.

Thomas W. Woodrow, Hobart, Okla.

The Early Christian Socialists

By Rev. E. Guy Talbott

In order to understand the Christian Socialist movement of the middle of the nineteenth century, it is necessary for us to have a clear knowledge of the meaning of the term "Christian Socialism." Christian Socialism as we know it in America is very different from the Christian Socialism of the continent at the present time. In the "Declaration of Principles and Policy" of the American Christian Socialist Fellowship, we find this declaration as to the name:

> In view of the traditional and political significance of the term 'Christian Socialism' in European countries, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the Fellowship differs wholly in its spirit and purpose from the so-called Christian Socialist parties in Germany and elsewhere. It must be distinguished from the semi-philanthropic and social reform movements which are sometimes designated as 'Christian Socialism.' It has no connection with, but on the contrary condemns the so-called Christian Socialist movement of Germany, Austria and other continental countries, which carries on a violent anti-social and un-Christian propaganda of anti-Semitism, and antagonizes the Social Democracy, the Political movement of the working class.
>
> "The Fellowship does not aim to create a new political party, but endorses and supports the platform and principles of the Socialist party. Most of the members of the Fellowship are members also of the party, and the influence of the Fellowship is unreservedly given to the party.
>
> "The Fellowship, believes in, and advocates, Socialism without any qualifying adjectives whatever. It does not offer any special form of Socialism, distinctly Christian. The Socialism it preaches differs in no wise from that of the International Socialist movement."

There is also a wide difference in the use of the term here and in England during the period we shall discuss. What was called Christian Socialism in those days would now be known as Settlement work, or general philanthropy, or social reform, or perhaps "opportunism" as it is known in Germany. In a propaganda leaflet published by the Christian Socialist Fellowship we find this statement regarding the early Christian Socialists:

> "In England the original Christian Socialists, such men as Maurice and Kingsley, were ardent and brave humanitarians, who honestly thought to offer something better and more practical to the people of England than the Continental Socialism of their day. Many of those who now call themselves the successors of Maurice and Kingsley are vague thinkers or men of a hesitating temper, who hold back from the real thing. The founders of the Christian Socialist movement in this country did not wish that what had happened in England, or what had happened on the Continent, should happen here; they thought it wrong that to mere social reformers, good men and doing good work, but not Socialists, should be left the possibility of erroneously calling by the name Christian Socialism a movement which threw a slur upon political Socialism."

To rightly understand the early Christian Socialism of Maurice, Hughes, Kingsley and Ludlow, we must also know something of the conditions that gave rise to the movement. What is the historical background? In general it may be said that the entire spirit of this age was the spirit of emancipation. The proletariat was coming into its own all over Europe. The doctrine of Laissez faire had been greatly overworked. It had resulted in despotism. The universal revolution of 1848-50, political and social, was largely a popular mass movement against absolutism. Robinson in his history of Western Europe says:

> "In 1848 the gathering discontent and the demand for reform suddenly showed their full strength and extent; it seemed for a time as if all western Europe was about to undergo as complete a revolution as France had experienced in 1789. With one accord, and as if obeying a preconcerted signal, the liberal parties in France, Italy, Germany and Austria, during the early months of 1848, overthrew or gained control of the government, and proceeded to carry out their program of reform in the sane thoroughgoing way in which the National Assembly in France had done its work in 1789. The general movement affected almost every state in Europe."

In France this movement was distinctly a Socialistic movement. Under the influence of Louis Blanc and Proudhon the Socialist policies of the Utopians, Fourier and Saint Simon, came to a crisis, and had ample opportunity of taking practical shape. This condition in France, especially in the capital, had a great influence on the development of English Christian Socialism. This statement is denied by many today, but we have the witness of Ludlow to the effect that his visit to Paris in 1848 had on his fellow-workers in England. Maurice, who was the real heart of English Christian Socialism, testifies to the influence Ludlow had over him. When he returned from Paris Ludlow said: "The conviction was forced upon me that Socialism must be Christianized, but that only a social Christianity could do the work."

No account of the origin of Christian Socialism would be complete that did not mention the English Socialistic precursor of the movement, Robert Owen. His schemes were Utopian, though he instituted many very practical reforms among his working people. He was at first a philanthropist, and when he became an avowed Socialist he seemed to lose his hold on the people. However, the seeds that he sowed bore fruit in the Christian Socialism of Maurice and his coadjutors. Owen and Godwin labored under the impression that all the ills of society were caused by existing institutions. If you give man a proper environment he will be perfect, was their philosophy. This theory was successfully refuted by Malthus in his "Principles of Population." He says:

> "The great error under which Mr. Godwin labors is the attributing of almost all the vices and misery that prevail in civil society, to human institutions. Political regulations and the established administration of property are, with him, the fruitful sources of all evil, the hotbeds of all the crimes that degrade mankind. Were this really a true state of the case, it would not seem an absolutely hopeless task, to remove evil completely from the world, and reason seems to be the proper and adequate instrument for effecting so great a purpose. But the truth is, that though human institutions appear to be, and indeed often are, the obvious and obtrusive causes of much mischief to society, they are, in reality, light and superficial, in comparison with the deeper stated causes of evil, which result from the laws of nature and the passions of mankind."

Another contributing cause of Christian Socialism was Chartism, indeed, Chartist demonstrations in 1848, together with the visit of Ludlow to France in the same year, were the immediate causes of Christian Socialism. Chartism derives its name from the fact that the demands of the working people were drawn up in the form of a Charter. These demands were radical and some of them drastic. The movement was very strong from 1839 to 1849. While very little was immediately accomplished by the Chartists, their work bore fruit later under the insistence of the influential Christian Socialists. Now practically every demand of the Charter has been granted. Though the Chartist agitation was largely political, the seeds of the social movement were by its public meetings scattered all over England. The connection of Chartism and Christian Socialism is well put by Bliss in his "Handbook on Socialism."

> "The close of the Chartist agitation witnessed the birth of organized Christian Socialism. Stirred by the events of the Chartist uprising and moved by the sufferings peculiarly of the sweated tailors in London, and of the agricultural laborers in the country, Charles Kingsley and Fred Maurice, clergymen of the Church of England, with E. Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, J. M. Ludlow (the starter of the movement), organized a society under the avowed name of CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM (suggested by Maurice). By Christian Socialism, so far as active effort went, they simply mean co-operation, but their deeper thought that competition was not the law of trade, but that God's law of brotherhood and sacrifice must be applied in industry, this has lived and is stirring all church thought today."

Thus there arose in England in the year 1848, which Maurice spoke of as "that awful year of 1848," the movement known as Christian Socialism. In the words of Ludlow: "Socialism then burst out of obscurity as a power capable of upsetting thrones." It was the uprising of the proletariat against the bourgeoise, labor against capital. There were grave elements of danger connected with this new democracy. The concepts of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" were new to the English working people, and also to most of the proletariat on the continent. Kautsky says in his "Social Revolution:"

> "Not many years ago the proletariat was so low that there were even Socialists that expected the worst results for culture from the conquest of the proletariat. In 1850 Rodbertus wrote: 'The most threatening danger at present is that we shall have a new barbarian invasion, this time coming from the interior of society itself to lay waste custom, civilization and wealth.' At the same time Heinrich Heine declared that the future belonged to the communist. 'This confession that the future belongs to the communist, I make in sorrow and greatest anxiety. This is in no way a delusion. In fact, it is only with fear and shuddering that I think of the epoch when these dark iconoclasts come to power, with their callous hands they will destroy all the marble statues of beauty, etc.'"

These pessimistic prophecies were never in truth fulfilled, at least in the case of England. Many who are making the same plea today regarding state Socialism might do well to remember the dark, unfulfilled prophecies of Rodbertus and Heine. One great reason why the Socialism of that day was not as bloodthirsty as some with which we of this day are familiar, was because the movement of that time was not political but social. It was not revolution, but, following the accepted science of the day, it was an evolution. Then, too, the spirit of the men comprising the movement was a guarantee of the character of the uprising. Canon Farrar in "Men I Have Known," pays this tribute to the memory of Maurice: "It falls to the lot of few to achieve so great a work as was done by one of the truest prophets of the nineteenth century—Frederick Denison Maurice." Rauschenbusch says of them: "The little group of early Christian Socialists in England led by Maurice, Kingsley and Hughes, now stand by common consent in the history of that generation as one of its finest products." Kirkup in his "History of Socialism" pays them this tribute:

> "The representatives of the movement exposed the evils of the competitive system, carried on an unsparing warfare against the Manchester school, and maintained that socialism, rightly understood, was only Christianity, applied to social reform. Their labors in insisting on ethical and spiritual principles as the true bonds of society, in promoting associations, and in diffusing a knowledge of co-operation, were largely beneficial. In the north of England they joined hands with the co-operative movement inaugurated by the Rochdale pioneers in 1844 under the influence of Owenism. Productive co-operation made very little progress, but co-operative distribution soon proved a great success."

Enough has been said to show the essential working of the system proposed and in a measure carried out by these consecrated men. The movement was not theoretical and Utopian as had been the work of Owen and Goodwin, it was not abortive as had been the demonstrations of the Chartists; it was not political as was the contemporary Socialism of the continent. The whole movement was conceived and in part carried out, in the spirit of Jesus, in whose name the work was done. The communistic societies that were formed were failures, as were almost all the co-operative productive schemes. These latter were based on the associations ouvrieres of Paris. Ludlow, who visited these associations in 1848, was struck, he tells us, by their zeal and devotion to each other. They seemed to him to offer a solution to the troubles of the English working people. Then there were the periodicals, first among them being "The Christian Socialist," which only lived a little over a year; the tracts edited by Maurice; the novels of Kingsley and Hughes; the schools and public meetings. The movement was economic, social, political, educational and religious. The essential spirit of the movement was the spirit of Jesus, the friend, of the poor, which lived in the hearts of these consecrated men. We will better be able to understand the Christian spirit of the movement if we listen to Kingsley as he addresses the Chartists at one of their noisiest demonstrations in London:

> "You think the Charter would make you free—would to God it would! The Charter is not bad, *if the men who use it are not bad!* But will the Charter make you free? Will it free you from slavery to every spouter who flatters your self-conceit, and stirs up bitterness and headlong rage in you? That, I guess is real slavery; to be a slave to one's stomach, one's own pocket-book, one's own temper. Will the Charter cure that? Friends, you want more than acts of Parliament can give.
>
> "Englishmen! Saxons! Workers of the great, cool-headed, strong-handed nation of England, the workshop of the world, the leader of freedom for 700 years, men say you have common sense! Then do not humbug yourselves into meaning 'License' when you cry for 'liberty,' who would dare refuse you freedom? For the Almighty God, and Jesus Christ, the poor Man, who died for poor men, will bring it about for you, though all the Mammonites of the earth were against you. A nobler day is dawning for England, a day of freedom, science, industry!

"But there will be no true freedom without virtue, no true science without religion, no true industry without the fear of God, and love of your fellow citizens. Workers of England, be wise, and then you *must* be free, for you will be *fit* to be free."

The noble and brave band of men about whom we have been speaking, did not see the full fruition of their labors; indeed, they saw many of their cherished ideas fall to pieces. But they have left their mark on England to this day. As Ludlow puts it, "The breath of the older Christian Socialism is on English co-operation to this day." And again: "The Christian Socialist movement was, above all things, a leaven, leavening the whole of English society." How well this leaven has worked may be seen by the following words of Prof. Ely:

"In England, men of whom our age may be proud, Thomas Hughes, Chas. Kingsley, Fred Maurice, E. Vansittart Neale and John Ludlow, have gone down to the laborer, and have taken him by the hand and said: Let us walk together. Through them a good influence has been brought to bear on the entire English labor movement, and it is largely on that account that it occupies so high an ethical plain. It is on this account that English co-operation, the successor to Christian socialism, has become infused with a spirit higher than that of mere buying and selling, and has achieved a grand success."

So, though their own age appreciated them not, our age rises up to call them blessed. They have gone to their rest, having finished their labors, but their work still follows them. Would that much of the so-called Christian Socialism of our own country were as truly Christian as that of the middle of the nineteenth century! In 1895 Ludlow was making an address before a clerical meeting in London. In closing his address, he said:

"When I put all the utterances of mid-century socialism together, I feel, far more deeply even than I did in 1848, that, with whatever false and even immoral teaching they were mixed, they represented a passionate cry for a uniting Christ.

"All parties in Church, and State treated us alike as dangerous madmen. For some years, at least, I do not think there was one of us who did not suffer more or less in his profession or prospects for having dared to call himself a Christian Socialist. For myself, whilst thanking God for having granted me to take part in the Christian Socialist efforts of the mid-century, I can only feel ashamed that I did not do more and do it better."

BLACKLISTED MINERS

Butte, Montana, April 12, 1912.

Whereas, A number of members of the Western Federation of Miners, heretofore employed in the mines at Butte, Montana, have been discharged because of their activity in the Socialist party; and,

Whereas, The Western Federation of Miners stands for and advocates independent working class political action through the Socialist party, and advises its membership to engage actively in the work of the Socialist party; therefore, be it

Resolved, by said discharged and blacklisted miners, in meeting assembled this 12th day of April, 1912, that we do hereby officially advise the Western Federation of Miners, through its officers and executive board, of our situation, and ask the W. F. of M. to render to such discharged and blacklisted members as are in need, such moral and financial assistance as is required until they may either secure other employment or be sent to other places where employment may be found.

Andrew Rissell,
J. W. Kuittinen,
K. O. Keturi,
Gust Ollikkala,
Evan L. Williams,
Frank Curran,
Henry Geick.

We doubt not the Western Federation of Miners will deal justly with these blacklisted comrades. The issue of political freedom, the right to vote one's convictions and hold his job, must be taken up by labor unions and fought for everywhere the right is denied. Fear of discharge has caused millions of men in America, from time to time, to vote contrary to their convictions. Political freedom should be struck for wherever it is denied to workers. That issue would win popular approval of the strike every time.

THE MILWAUKEE ELECTION—HOW WALL STREET INFLUENCED THE ISSUE.

By Carl D. Thompson

In the campaign just closed Wall street won in Milwaukee. Milwaukee—the people who live and labor there—lost.

This victory over Social Democracy was achieved by the fusion of the Republican and Democratic parties. The Republican party gave itself up entirely, not even its name appeared on the ballot. The Republican voters were turned over to the Democratic party. With this fusion of the old political parties combined against the Social Democrats, they were able to marshal enough votes to win.

The victory, however, has not brought any special comfort to the fusion forces, and the Free Press of April 4th, admits in its editorial columns that "The real defeat of Socialism in Milwaukee has yet to be accomplished." Speaking of the votes cast in the election the Free Press says: "While the Socialist vote has increased by big leaps at each election, it required the herculean effort of a non-partizan, anti-Socialist campaign to bring the combined vote of the Republicans and Democrats within hailing distance of what it was six years ago." These are the words of the Free Press in the hour of their victory.

Later on they added, "Socialism, far from being buried in Milwaukee by this election, is very much alive and kicking."

And well may they be warned not to count too much on the victory they achieved in the Milwaukee election. For as a matter of fact the Socialists increased their votes splendidly in the election. In 1910 the Social Democratic party cast 27,608 votes in a three-cornered fight and carried the city.

In 1912 the Social Democrats cast 30,200 votes, thus increasing their actual vote by nearly 2,000, but of the 27,000 votes cast in 1910, in a three cornered fight, about 5,000 votes were not Socialist votes, but protest votes, while of the 30,000 votes cast this year practically every one is a straight Socialist vote. In other words the Social Democracy gained in two years about 8,000 solid votes.

And this was done in the face of the most terrific odds. Nine daily papers fought the Social Democracy during every day of the two years they were in control of the city. Misrepresentation, falsehoods and deceit were poured out steadily. Scarcely a single achievement of the administration was fairly represented to the people. Many of their doings were most grossly misrepresented. False cries were raised, and false impressions were given out. The Socialists had no means of answering this flood of misrepresentation except a weekly paper until about four months ago when they started their single Socialist daily, The Milwaukee Leader.

In addition to this flood of misrepresentation that had been poured out upon the people for eighteen months or more, the politicians of the capitalistic parties succeeded finally by hook or crook, in effecting a fusion of the Republican and the Democratic parties. They called it non-partizan. As a matter of fact it was the Democratic party and went under that name. All Republicans were compelled to vote the Democratic ticket.

In spite of this fusion and the desperate tactics resorted to by the parties, the Social Democracy not only held its own, but played a splendid game.

Nor was the victory so decisive from the standpoint of the offices won. The Social Democratic Party holds a number of the offices, including a City Attorney, Health Commissioner, Tax Commissioner, Water Registrar, and the City Engineer, which hold over for two years longer. They also have a four hold-over Aldermen at Large. In addition to this the Socialists elected seven Ward Aldermen which gives them eleven representatives in the city council, together with the heads of several important departments. This makes up a fighting minority which the Socialists know very well how to use.

The Social Democrats now have a well established daily paper with a circulation of nearly 50,000 which is growing by leaps and bounds; they have by far the strongest organization they ever had; they raised the largest vote this week that ever has been cast in the city, exceeding by nearly 3,000 the total vote of two years ago; the Trades Unions stand as a solid unit for the Social Democracy and the working class in general are pretty completely won to that party.

In view of these facts, the Social Democracy in Milwaukee seems destined to make itself the majority party in the city within the next two years.

Plans are already under way for the fusion of the Republican and Democratic parties in the hopes of defeating the Socialists in the fall campaign. The old party politicians realize fully the growing power of Social Democracy in Milwaukee and they are moving heaven and earth to stem the tide.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION

It is not always necessary to assume that a judge is corrupt whenever he makes an improper use of the injunction. "Government by injunction" grows out of every man's natural tendency to magnify the importance of his office, and the sympathies of the judge. The injunction itself is a perfectly proper judicial device. It is the means used to prevent the defendant in civil suits from carrying on operations while the suit is pending, which would injure the plaintiff. For instance, if a man starts to dig a ditch which might have an injurious effect on his neighbor, the neighbor may apply for an injunction to prevent the digging of the ditch until the merits of the case have been determined in court.

In the case of injunctions against labor unions the injunction is sought upon the plea that if the union does certain things which may be either lawful or unlawful in themselves, or both, the complaining concern will be injured in its business or property. It is perfectly plain that acts which in themselves are lawful may, under certain circumstances, work an injury to others, and may be very properly enjoined, either temporarily or permanently; but the extension of this principle to disputes between capital and labor has the practical effect, as used by some judges, of robbing individuals of their constitutional rights, and preventing the workers from doing anything whatever to better their condition, or even to protect themselves against additional exactions of their employers. There is practically no limit to such an abuse of power by a judge, for anything the workers may do to force better conditions from their employers cannot be otherwise than injurious to the employers.

Such a use of the injunction, however, has other effects never contemplated when the courts were established. First, enjoining men from doing acts which are themselves unlawful publicly brands peaceably, law-abiding citizens as criminals to be shunned, feared and guarded against. Second, if the unlawful acts enjoined are committed the injunction enables the judge to constitute himself plaintiff and jury as well as judge, punish crime by this civil procedure, and thus rob the criminal of his right to trial by jury.

Again, the injunction may be, and is, used to protect rich criminals from having to face a jury and take the consequences of their guilt. For instance, when Judge Grosscup enjoined the Chicago beef packers, the packers continued to do the things enjoined, violating the injunction, and its only effect was to save them from having to face a jury for what the law declares to be a crime.

The use of the injunction can never be entirely dispensed with as long as we have need of courts, and as long as there is a possibility of one man's lawful operations inadvertently injuring another. The remedy for "Government by injunction" is not in abolishing the injunction; neither is it in intemperate denunciation of judges who may err on the side of capital, but the remedy is in bringing about a condition in which the interests of labor and capital will be identical. In the meantime, however, we must secure legislation that will limit and prescribe the use of the injunction. Injunctions in disputes between capital and labor should be forbidden entirely; for human rights should be placed above capital rights. And if the act to be enjoined is lawful, there is nothing permissible between competitors but must injure one of the competitors, and if the act be criminal in itself the perpetrator should be prosecuted before a criminal court and tried by jury, after the act is committed. No judge should be allowed to assume criminal intent in the absence of the deed.

Wm. H. Watts.

"THE CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMAN"

By Rev. Roland D. Sawyer.

One of the living clergymen who feels deeply the defects in present-day church work, and who has real suggestions for betterment, is the Rev. Edgar F. Blanchard of Centerville, Mass. Rev. Blanchard's latest pamphlet is "The Church and the Workingman"; setting forth the recognized loss of influence of the churches, he traces out the cause, viz., that the church has forgotten its mission for fraternal helpfulness in matters of life, and seeks to live on the narrow sphere of "merely spiritual" activities. Without a note of harsh criticism, but wisely and patiently, Mr. Blanchard offers his statesmanlike suggestions for a better plan of activity. Many telling quotations from various church leaders are made, as well as forceful original comments, especially among the latter is his proof that Moses, Jesus and the early Church sought to PREVENT poverty and destitution, rather than to administer charity. Mr. Blanchard sends the pamphlet for a dime, and it is worth while to everyone who wants to see the Church regain something of its lost power.